249
221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

249
276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermentation bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

[442]

249
244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

1:Hopkins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB [435] economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important--these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

231 233

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 471 472 656 operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
• [442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)
Meat:
Fresh beef and pork
Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties
Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papayas, and mangoes
Coffee
Coconuts
Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 [452] [427] Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For [489] [494] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos [505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold [489] [494] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains, and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 443 233 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249
471
438
[191] their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

249 The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent.
442 With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to
438 the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers
452 via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants
455 a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upward
438 throughout the season.
452
455

The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

182 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
489

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brasiliana SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.